



UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY



Distr.  
GENERAL

A/4725  
6 April 1961

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Fifteenth session  
Agenda item 90

COMPLAINT BY THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF CUBA REGARDING THE  
VARIOUS PLANS OF AGGRESSION AND ACTS OF INTERVENTION BEING EXECUTED  
BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AGAINST THE  
GOVERNMENT OF CUBA, CONSTITUTING A MANIFEST VIOLATION OF ITS  
TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE, AND A CLEAR  
THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

Letter dated 6 April 1961 from the Representative of the United States  
of America to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to enclose a document entitled "Cuba", which has been transmitted by the United States Government to the Inter-American Peace Committee for its information in connexion with its study of tensions in the Caribbean area, and to the Secretary General of the Organization of American States with the request that its contents be brought to the attention of other members of the Council of that organization.

It will be appreciated if the enclosed document can be circulated to all Members of the United Nations for their information in connexion with item 90 of the agenda of the resumed fifteenth regular session of the General Assembly.

(Signed) Adlai E. STEVENSON

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## CUBA

The present situation in Cuba confronts the Western Hemisphere and the inter-American system with a grave and urgent challenge.

This challenge does not result from the fact that the Castro government in Cuba was established by revolution. The hemisphere rejoiced at the overthrow of the Batista tyranny, looked with sympathy on the new regime, and welcomed its promises of political freedom and social justice for the Cuban people. The challenge results from the fact the leaders of the revolutionary regime betrayed their own revolution, delivered that revolution into the hands of powers alien to the hemisphere, and transformed it into an instrument employed with calculated effect to suppress the rekindled hopes of the Cuban people for democracy and to intervene in the internal affairs of other American Republics.

What began as a movement to enlarge Cuban democracy and freedom has been perverted, in short, into a mechanism for the destruction of free institutions in Cuba, for the seizure by international communism of a base and bridgehead in the Americas, and for the disruption of the inter-American system.

It is the considered judgment of the Government of the United States of America that the Castro regime in Cuba offers a clear and present danger to the authentic and autonomous revolution of the Americas - to the whole hope of spreading political liberty, economic development, and social progress through all the republics of the hemisphere.

### I. The Betrayal of the Cuban Revolution

The character of the Batista regime in Cuba made a violent popular reaction almost inevitable. The rapacity of the leadership, the corruption of the government, the brutality of the police, the regime's indifference to the needs of the people for education, medical care, housing, for social justice and economic opportunity - all these, in Cuba as elsewhere, constituted an open invitation to revolution.

When word arrived from the Sierra Maestra of the revolutionary movement headed by Dr. Fidel Castro Ruz, the people of the hemisphere watched its progress with feeling and with hope. The Cuban Revolution could not, however,

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have succeeded on the basis of guerrilla action alone. It succeeded because of the rejection of the regime by thousands of civilians behind the lines - a rejection which undermined the morale of the superior military forces of Batista and caused them to collapse from within. This response of the Cuban people was not just to the cruelty and oppression of the Batista government but to the clear and moving declarations repeatedly made by Dr. Castro concerning his plans and purposes for post-revolutionary Cuba.

As early as 1953 Dr. Castro promised that the first revolutionary law would proclaim the Constitution of 1940 as "the supreme law of the land." In this and subsequent statements Dr. Castro promised "absolute guarantee of freedom of information, both of newspapers and radio, and of all the individual and political rights guaranteed by the Constitution," and a provisional government that "will hold general elections ... at the end of one year under the norms of the Constitution of 1940 and the Electoral Code of 1943 and will deliver the power immediately to the candidate elected." Dr. Castro, in short, promised a free and democratic Cuba dedicated to social and economic justice. It was to assure these goals that the Rebel Army maintained itself in the hills, that the Cuban people turned against Batista, and that all elements of the revolution in the end supported the 26th of July Movement. It was because of the belief in the honesty of Dr. Castro's purposes that the accession of his regime to power on January 1, 1959, was followed within a single week by its acceptance in the hemisphere - a recognition freely accorded by nearly all the American Republics, including the United States.

For a moment the Castro regime seemed determined to make good on at least its social promises. The positive programs initiated in the first months of the Castro regime - the schools built, the medical clinics established, the new housing, the early projects of land reform, the opening up of beaches and resorts to the people, the elimination of graft in government - were impressive in their conception; no future Cuban government can expect to turn its back on such objectives. But so far as the expressed political aims of the revolution were concerned, the record of the Castro regime has been a record of the steady and consistent betrayal of Dr. Castro's prerevolutionary promises; and the result has been to corrupt the social achievements and make them the means, not of liberation, but of bondage.

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The history of the Castro Revolution has been the history of the calculated destruction of the free-spirited Rebel Army and its supersession as the main military instrumentality of the regime by the new state militia. It has been the history of the calculated destruction of the 26th of July Movement and its supersession as the main political instrumentality of the regime by the Communist Party (Partido Socialista Popular). It has been the history of the disillusion, persecution, imprisonment, exile, and execution of men and women who supported Dr. Castro - in many cases fought by his side - and thereafter doomed themselves by trying to make his regime live up to his own promises.

Thus Dr. José Miró Cardona, a distinguished lawyer of Habana, was in 1958 Coordinator of Frente Cívico Revolucionario, the coalition of groups opposed to the Batista regime. Dr. Castro made him the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government. As the regime embarked on its Communist course, Dr. Miró Cardona went into exile. Today he is chairman of the Revolutionary Council, representing anti-Batista Cubans determined to rescue the Revolution.

Dr. Manuel Urrutia y Lleó, an eminent Cuban judge, had asserted in defiance of Batista and in defense of Castro the right of Cubans to resort to arms to overthrow an unconstitutional government. He became a hero of the Revolution and served as Provisional President of the Revolutionary Government. When he protested the spread of Communist influence, he was compelled to resign. Today Dr. Urrutia is under house arrest in Habana.

Not only the first Prime Minister and the first President of the Revolutionary Government but a large proportion of the Revolution's original political and military leaders now reject Dr. Castro and his course of betrayal. Of the 19 members of the first cabinet of the Revolutionary Government, nearly two-thirds are today in prison, in exile, or in opposition. Manuel Ray Rivero, who organized the anti-Batista underground in Habana and served as Castro's Minister of Public Works, is now a member of the Revolutionary Council. Humberto Sori Marín, who as Castro's first Minister of Agriculture called for agrarian reform in the spirit of the 1940 Constitution, returned to Cuba early this year to resume his fight for the freedom of his people; according to recent reports, he has been shot and captured by the forces of Castro.

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Men who fought with Dr. Castro in the hills are today the hunted victims of his revolutionary regime. Major Huber Matos Benítez, revolutionary comandante of Camagüey Province, was a hero of the Sierra Maestra. When Major Matos challenged the spread of Communist influence and requested permission to resign from the Army, he was put on trial for conspiracy, sedition, and treason and sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment. Major Matos is only one of the many foes of Batista who now protest Dr. Castro's perversion of the revolution. There are many, many others: Manuel Artime and Nino Díaz who fought valiantly in the Sierra Maestra; Justo Carrillo, a leader of the Montecristi opposition in Habana and Castro's first choice for President of the National Development Bank; Raúl Chibas, who raised much of the funds for the revolution and fought with Castro in the hills; Felipe Pazos, who represented the 26th of July Movement on the Junta of Liberation and was subsequently appointed by Castro as President of the National Bank of Cuba; Major Pedro Díaz Lanz, chief of the Cuban Air Force and Castro's personal pilot; Ricardo Lorie Vals, chief of arms supply for the Rebel Army; Dr. Manuel Antonio de Varona, leader of the Organización Auténtica, which was formed to oppose Batista and which supported its own revolutionary group in the Escambray Mountains; Evelio Duque and Osvaldo Ramírez, fighters in the Sierra Escambray first against Batista and today against Castro.

David Salvador, the labor leader, went to jail under Batista because of his work for Castro. After the revolution he became the militantly pro-Castro and "anti-Yanqui" secretary general of the Cuban trade union federation. In November 1959, the 26th of July Movement swept the national congress of the trade unions, defeated the Communist slate, and confirmed David Salvador as secretary general. But Dr. Castro, appearing in person at the congress, demanded acceptance of the Communist program of "unity". Salvador continued his fight for a free labor movement. A year later he was arrested as he tried to escape from Cuba. Today David Salvador is back again in a Cuban jail - this time not Batista's but Castro's.

Editors and commentators who had fought all their lives for freedom of expression found less of it under Castro even than under Batista. Miguel Angel Quevedo, as editor of Bohemia, had freely attacked Batista and backed Castro; the January 1959 issue of Bohemia hailing the new regime sold

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nearly a million copies. But a year and a half later Quevedo concluded that it was impossible to put out an honest magazine in the new Cuba. When he fled the country in July 1960, Castro described it as "one of the hard blows which the Revolution has received." Today Bohemia Libre's dateline is Caracas.

Luis Conte Agüero, the radio and television commentator, wrote the preface to Dr. Castro's revolutionary exhortation History Will Absolve Me. When Conte dared criticize Communist infiltration into the regime, Castro turned on him, angry crowds mobbed him, and he was forced to seek refuge in the Argentine Embassy. Today he is in exile. Even José Pardo Llada, notorious for his vitriolic daily attacks on the United States over the Habana radio, recently fled to Mexico City; he declared, "I am breaking with Fidel Castro upon reaching the conviction that in Cuba it is no longer possible to maintain a position that is not in accord with the line of the Popular Socialist Communist Party and that any expression of independence, even in defense of the social program of the Revolution, is considered as deviationist, divisive, or counterrevolutionary."

Never in history has any revolution so rapidly devoured its children. The roster of Castro's victims is the litany of the Cuban Revolution. The Rebel Army and the 26th of July Movement expressed the profound and passionate desire of the Cuban people for democracy and freedom, a desire sanctified in the comradeship and sacrifice of the revolutionary struggle. When Dr. Castro decided to betray the promises of the revolution, he had to liquidate the instrumentalities which embodied those promises and to destroy the men who took the promises seriously.

## II. The Establishment of the Communist Bridgehead

In place of the democratic spontaneity of the Cuban Revolution, Dr. Castro placed his confidence in the ruthless discipline of the Cuban Communist Party. Today that party is the only political party permitted to operate in Cuba. Today its members and those responsive to its influence dominate the government of Cuba, the commissions of economic planning, the labor front, the press, the educational system, and all the agencies of national power.

The Cuban Communist Party has had a long and intricate history. For years it had a working arrangement with the Batista government; indeed, Batista in

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1943 appointed to his cabinet the first avowed Communist ever to serve in any cabinet of any American Republic. Later Batista and the Communists fell out. But the Communists were at first slow to grasp the potentialities of the Castro movement. When Castro first went to the hills, the Cuban Communist Party dismissed him as "bourgeois" and "putschist". Only when they saw that he had a chance of winning did they try to take over his movement.

Their initial opposition was quickly forgiven. Dr. Castro's brother, Major Raúl Castro, had himself been active in the international Communist student movement and had made his pilgrimage to the Communist world. Moreover, Major Ernesto (Ché) Guevara, a dominating influence on Dr. Castro, was a professional revolutionary from Argentina who had worked with Communists in Guatemala and Mexico. Through Raúl Castro and Guevara, the Communists, though unable to gain control either of the 26th of July Movement or of the Rebel Army, won ready access to Dr. Castro himself. What was perhaps even more important, the Communist Party could promise Castro not only a clear-cut program but a tough organization to put that program into execution.

The period since has seen a steady expansion of Communist power within the regime. Dr. Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado, the present President of Cuba, was regional organization secretary of the Communist Party in Cienfuegos as a law student and has never publicly explained or repudiated his past party membership. Aníbal Escalante, secretary general of the Cuban Communist Party, is a member of the informal group which, under the chairmanship of Raúl Castro, makes policy for the Cuban Government. Raúl Castro himself runs the Ministry for the Revolutionary Armed Forces; and his friend, Major Ramiro Valdés Menéndez, who accompanied him on a tour of the Soviet bloc in 1960, is chief of military intelligence. Major Guevara is Minister of Industry and chief economic planner. The National Agrarian Reform Institute (INRA), with its vast power over the rural life of Cuba, is headed by Major Antonio Núñez Jiménez, a longtime coworker in Communist-front groups and another frequent pilgrim behind the Iron Curtain. The Bank for Foreign Commerce, which until recently controlled all exports and imports, had as its director Jacinto Torras, an oldtime Communist, who served for many years as economic editor of the Communist daily newspaper Noticias de Hoy. All centers of economic power have been taken over by the state and to a considerable degree delivered to the Cuban Communist Party.

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This process of consolidation has been extended inexorably to every phase of Cuban national life. Political opposition has been extinguished, and all political parties, save the Communist, are effectively denied political activity. In recent months the regime, by completing its purge of the judiciary, has perfected its control over all organized institutions of political power. Justice is now the instrument of tyranny. Laws have been redefined in such a way that any manifestation of disagreement can be branded as "counterrevolutionary" and the accused haled before military tribunals and sentenced to long prison terms or to the firing squad.

Professional groups and civic institutions have lost their autonomy and are systematically integrated into the "revolutionary" discipline of the regime. The remaining vestiges of opposition in the trade unions, represented by union leaders from the 26th of July Movement, have been destroyed. Recently the hand of the dictatorship has been reaching out beyond the middle class to strike down elements in organized labor. When the electrical workers of Habana marched last December from union headquarters to the Presidential Palace to protest against reductions in their standard of living, Dr. Castro himself took an early occasion to denounce them. A power failure in Habana led to the arrest of three workers as suspected saboteurs; on January 18, 1961, these men were executed by the regime as "traitors." Protest demonstrations by workers' wives against the executions were broken up by civilian strong-arm squads while police and militiamen looked on.

In characteristic Communist manner the regime has seized control of the nation's educational system, introduced Communist propaganda into the schools, destroyed academic freedom, and ended the traditional autonomy of the universities. The director of primary education in the Ministry of Education is Dulce María Escalona Almeida, a Communist. Secondary education is in the hands of Pedro Cañas Abril, long associated with pro-Communist groups. The director of the Department of Culture in the Ministry of Education is a veteran Communist, Vicentina Antuña. Well-known Communists served on the committee named by the Ministry of Education to rewrite the textbooks for the public school system. Two-thirds of the faculty of the University of Habana is today in exile. Fermín Peinado, a former professor at the University of the Oriente, recently

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published the text of a statement issued last December by faculty members and students of that university:

".... In the realm of domestic politics we condemn Fidel Castro as a traitor to the Revolution that this university helped to organize and to win ... The objectives of complete freedom, human rights, and constitutional order, crystallized in the 26th of July Movement, have been crushed by the Castro regime in open treason to the memory of our martyrs Frank País, Pepito Tey, Eduardo Mesa, and many others .... In the realm of university life we declare Fidel Castro a traitor to the autonomy of the university, defended to the death by a legion of student martyrs, from Trejo to Ramirez and José A. Echevarría ... We denounce the systematic subordination of the aims of scientific investigation within the universities to the aim of consolidating and maintaining in power the totalitarian tyranny of Castro."

In similar fashion the Castro regime has seized control of the agencies of public communication - the newspapers, the publishing houses, the radio and television networks, the film industry. No Cuban today, whether in field or factory, in school or cafe or home by the radio, can hope to escape the monotonous and implacable din of Communist propaganda.

The Cuba of Castro, in short, offers the Western Hemisphere a new experience - the experience of a modern totalitarian state. Castro's power touches the daily lives of the people of Cuba at every point; governs their access to jobs, houses, farms, schools, all the necessities of life; and subjects opposition to quick and harsh reprisal. The Castro regime is far more drastic and comprehensive in its control than even the most ruthless of the oldtime military dictatorships which have too long disfigured the hemisphere. On January 27 last, Major Núñez Jiménez, the head of INRA, summed up the inner logic of the Castro course. The Cuban Government, Major Núñez threatened, might have to replace its intended slogan for 1961, "Year of Education," with a new slogan, "Año del Paredón" - "Year of the Execution Wall" or, in effect, "Year of the Firing Squad."

By every criterion, it is evident that the permeation and penetration of political and intellectual life by Communist influences and personalities have reached the point of virtual domination. The North American journalist I.F. Stone, initially sympathetic with the Castro regime, reported after a recent trip to Cuba: "For the first time, in talking with the Fidelista intellectuals, I felt that Cuba was on its way to becoming a Soviet-style Popular Democracy."

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It is for this reason that some of the most devoted and authentic fighters for social and economic democracy in Latin America - men who themselves spent years in prison or in exile and who had hailed the Castro uprising for its promises of deliverance for the Cuban people - have united in rejecting the Communist conquest of Cuba. Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre of Peru may stand as a symbol of this whole tradition of the democratic left. "In the history of Latin America," Haya de la Torre recently said, "there has been a series of sell-outs. Sell-outs are not new to our America. What is new are sell-outs towards the left. Up until now they were only to the political right. We cannot confuse that which was idealistic, authentic and just in the beginning of the Cuban Revolution with the surrender, submission, and homage to something which is anti-American and totalitarian and which is opposed to the traditional sense of our ideal of bread with freedom."

Meeting in Lima at the end of February 1961, representatives of APRA of Peru, Acción Democrática of Venezuela, and similar political groups in other Latin American Republics summed up the situation when they said of Cuba that its "revolutionary process, justified in the beginning, has been deflected by its present agents, converting a brother country into an instrument of the cold war, separating it, with suicidal premeditation, from the community of interests of the Latin American people."

### III. The Delivery of the Revolution to the Sino-Soviet Bloc

The official declarations of the Cuban Government amply document the Lima resolution and make clear the subservience of the Castro regime to the world Communist bloc. The joint communique issued in Moscow on December 19, 1960, by Anastas Mikoyan, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and Major Guevara, as chief of the Economic Mission of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, outline the terms of surrender. After announcing a series of trade, technical assistance, and cultural agreements, the communique noted, "During the talks, the two parties discussed problems relating to the present international situation, and they reaffirmed their agreement in attitude toward the principal problems of mankind today." The Cubans agreed that the Soviet Union is "the most powerful nation on earth" and that every Soviet proposal

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and policy represented a magnificent contribution to world peace. In return for a total acceptance of Soviet leadership, Cuba received pledges of Soviet economic assistance and of "the Soviet Union's willingness to lend Cuba full assistance in maintaining its independence against unprovoked aggression." The joint communique amounts in effect to an alliance between Cuba and the Soviet Union.

Officials of the Castro government have repeatedly made clear their fidelity to this alliance. Major Guevara, endorsing the conclusions of the Moscow Congress of world Communist parties, said "Cuba wants to tread the way of the Soviet Union" and praised the "militant solidarity of the Cuban and Soviet people." In the presence of Dr. Castro, Faure Chomón, the Cuban Ambassador to Moscow, told an audience on March 13, 1961, "We Communists together will continue forward with our truth ... and the students of today and the students of tomorrow will be greatly interested in seeing how a whole people made itself Communist, how even the children, deceived by religious schools, have become Communists, and how this is to follow that truth which unites the Cuban people. Very soon we shall see all the peoples of Latin America become Communists."

On one issue after another, the Castro regime has signified its unquestioning acceptance of the Soviet line on international affairs. After the termination of diplomatic relations with the United States, the Cuban Government turned over its diplomatic and consular representation to the Embassy of Czechoslovakia in Washington. In the United Nations, Cuba votes with the Communist bloc on virtually all major issues.

Though in 1956 Raúl Roa, the Cuban Foreign Minister, attacked "the crimes, disasters and outrages perpetrated" by the Soviet "invaders" in Hungary, the Hungarian revolution, as well as the rebellion in Tibet, are now "reactionary fascist movements." In October 1960, Manuel Yepe, chief of protocol for the Foreign Ministry, gave an orientation lecture on the subject "Imperialist Aggression and the Case of Hungary."

The last few months have seen the rapid consolidation of this relationship in all its aspects - not only ideological, but military, political, economic, and cultural. Sino-Soviet arms, equipment, technicians, and money have moved

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into Cuba. Diplomatic relations have been established with every Communist country except East Germany; and economic agreements have been concluded with many Communist countries including East Germany. Cuban leaders have visited the Soviet Union and Communist China as honored guests, and a long list of leaders from the Soviet Union, China, and the Communist satellite states have visited Cuba.

It is important to understand the detail and the magnitude of this process of takeover. Since the middle of 1960, more than 30,000 tons of arms with an estimated value of \$50 million have poured from beyond the Iron Curtain into Cuba in an ever-rising flood. The 8-hour military parade through Habana and the military maneuvers in January 1961 displayed Soviet JS-2 51-ton tanks, Soviet SU-100 assault guns, Soviet T-34 35-ton tanks, Soviet 76 mm. field guns, Soviet 85 mm. field guns, Soviet 122 mm. field guns. Except for motorized equipment, the Cuban armed forces have been reequipped by the Soviet bloc and are now dependent on the bloc for the maintenance of their armed power. Soviet and Czech military advisers and technicians have accompanied the flow of arms. And the Castro regime has sent Cubans to Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union for training as jet pilots, ground maintenance crews, and artillerymen.

As a consequence of Soviet Military aid, Cuba has today, except for the United States, the largest ground forces in the hemisphere - at least ten times as large as the military forces maintained by previous Cuban Governments, including that of Batista. Estimates of the size of the Cuban military establishment range from 250,000 to 400,000. On the basis of the lower figure, one out of every 30 Cubans is today in the armed forces as against one out of 50 in the Soviet Union and one out of 60 in the United States.

Soviet domination of economic relations has proceeded with similar speed and comprehensiveness. A series of trade and financial agreements has integrated the Cuban economy with that of the Communist world. The extent of Cuban economic dependence on the Communist world is shown by the fact that approximately 75 per cent of its trade is now tied up in barter arrangements with Iron Curtain countries. The artificiality of this development is suggested by the fact that at the beginning of 1960 only 2 per cent of Cuba's total foreign trade was with the Communist bloc. The Soviet Union, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Poland have permanent technical assistance missions in Cuba; and a Communist Chinese

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delegation will soon arrive in pursuance of the Cuban-Chinese agreement of December 1960. According to Major Guevara, 2,700 Cubans will be receiving technical training in bloc countries in 1961.

The same process is visible in the field of cultural relations. What is involved is not just the visit of concert artists, dance groups, or athletic teams but the Communist conquest of all phases of cultural activity. This, is to be seen in the comprehensive cultural agreements with bloc countries, in the reconstruction of the Cuban educational system to serve Communist purposes, in the impediments placed on students wishing to study anywhere except beyond the Iron Curtain, in the ban on books and magazines from the free states, in the affiliation of Prensa Latina, the official Cuban press agency, with Tass and other Communist-bloc news agencies. It has meant a deliberate severing of traditional cultural ties with countries of the hemisphere and of Western Europe. It has meant a massive attempt to impose an alien cultural pattern on the Cuban people.

In every area, the action of the Castro regime is steadily and purposefully directed toward a single goal - the transformation of Cuba into a Soviet satellite state.

#### IV. The Assault on the Hemisphere

The transformation of Cuba into a Soviet satellite is, from the viewpoint of the Cuban leaders, not an end but a beginning. Dr. Castro's fondest dream is a continent-wide upheaval which would reconstruct all Latin America on the model of Cuba. "We promise," he said on July 26, 1960, "to continue making the nation the example that can convert the Cordillera of the Andes into the Sierra Maestra of the hemisphere." "If they want to accuse us of wanting a revolution in all America," he added later, "let them accuse us."

Under Castro, Cuba has already become a base and staging area for revolutionary activity throughout the continent. In prosecuting the war against the hemisphere, Cuban embassies in Latin American countries work in close collaboration with Iron Curtain diplomatic missions and with the Soviet intelligence services. In addition, Cuban expressions of fealty to the

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Communist world have provided the Soviet Government a long-sought pretext for threats of direct interventions of its own in the Western Hemisphere. "We shall do everything to support Cuba in her struggle," Prime Minister Khrushchev said on July 9, 1960, "... Speaking figuratively, in case of necessity, Soviet artillerymen can support with rocket fire the Cuban people if aggressive forces in the Pentagon dare to start intervention against Cuba."

As Dr. Castro's alliance with international communism has grown closer, his determination to export revolution to other American Republics - a determination now affirmed, now denied - has become more fervent. The Declaration of Habana of September 2, 1960, was an open attack on the Organization of American States. Cuban intervention, though couched in terms designed to appeal to Latin American aspirations for freedom and justice, has shown its readiness to do anything necessary to extend the power of Fidelismo. Indeed, Dr. Castro has plainly reached the conclusion that his main enemy in Latin America is not dictatorship but democracy - that he must, above all, strive to discredit and destroy governments seeking peaceful solutions to social and economic problems. Thus in recent months the Cuban Government has abandoned its aggressive campaign against the Trujillo dictatorship in the Dominican Republic and has accelerated its attacks on the progressive democratic government of Rómulo Betancourt in Venezuela.

Cuban interventionism has taken a variety of forms. During 1959 the Castro government aided or supported armed invasions of Panama, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti. These projects all failed and all invited action by the Organization of American States. In consequence, after 1959 the Castro regime began increasingly to resort to indirect methods. The present strategy of Fidelismo is to provoke revolutionary situations in other republics through the indoctrination of selected individuals from other countries, through assistance to revolutionary exiles, through incitement to mass agitation, and through the political and propaganda operations of Cuban embassies. Cuban diplomats have encouraged local opposition groups, harangued political rallies, distributed inflammatory propaganda, and indulged in a multitude of political assignments beyond the usual call of diplomatic duty. Papers seized in a raid on the Cuban Embassy in Lima in November 1960 display, for example, the extent and variety of

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clandestine Fidelista activities within Peru. Documents made public by the Government of El Salvador on March 12, 1961, appear to establish that large sums of money have been coming into El Salvador through the Cuban Embassy for the purpose of financing pro-Communist student groups plotting the overthrow of the government. The regime is now completing construction of a 100,000-watt radio transmitter to facilitate its propaganda assault on the hemisphere.

Most instances of serious civil disturbance in Latin America in recent months exhibit Cuban influence, if not direct intervention. At the time of the November riots in Venezuela, the government announced the discovery of high-powered transmitting and receiving sets in the possession of Cubans in Caracas. In the following weeks about 50 Cubans were expelled from the country. Similar patterns appear to have existed in troubles in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama, Colombia, Bolivia, and Paraguay.

To such covert activities have been joined open and direct attacks on the duly elected leaders of the American states. Thus the Cuban Foreign Minister has applied unprintable language to President Frondizi of Argentina. Government broadcasts have denounced President López Mateos as "the betrayer of the Mexican Revolution," President Alessandri as "the corrupter of the faith of the Chilean people," President Lleras Camargo of Colombia as "the intimate friend of exploiting imperialism," President Betancourt of Venezuela as the "revolutionary of Mercurochrome Bandaids," President Eisenhower of the United States as "decrepit" and "bottle-fed," and so on.

In consequence of Dr. Castro's campaign against the hemisphere, seven American states no longer have diplomatic relations with Cuba. Of the states which retain formal relations, several have found it necessary to ask that Cuban Ambassadors and other official representatives be recalled because of their flagrant intervention into domestic affairs. A number of governments have withdrawn their own ambassadors from Habana.

The nations of the hemisphere, including the United States, have made repeated attempts to dissuade Cuba from thus turning its back on its brother Republics. Though the Cuban Government has tried to portray the United States as the sworn and unrelenting enemy of the Cuban Revolution, Dr. Castro was in fact cordially received when he visited the United States in the spring of 1959.

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American officials made clear to him the willingness of the United States Government to discuss his country's economic needs. For many months thereafter, the United States sought direct consultations with the Castro government. The United States took the initiative in suggesting negotiations as early as the summer of 1959. That offer and many others made subsequently were not accepted. For a long time the United States Ambassador in Habana was unable even to obtain an audience with Dr. Castro.

Dr. Castro had already made clear his contempt for the Organization of American States and for the entire inter-American system. Early in his regime he declared, "I have no faith in the OAS ... it decides nothing, the whole thing is a lie." Though Cuba signed the Santiago Declaration of August 1959, with its enunciation of free elections, human rights, due process, freedom of information and expression, and hemisphere economic collaboration, it has systematically disregarded and violated each item in the Declaration. In March 1960 Castro publicly stated that the Cuban Government did not regard their as obligated by the Rio Treaty, the keystone of hemispheric cooperation for defense, because "the revolution" did not sign the document.

In August 1960 the Foreign Ministers of the hemisphere, meeting at San José, Costa Rica, adopted a declaration condemning the threat of extracontinental intervention in the affairs of the hemisphere and condemning also the acceptance of any such threat by an American Republic; rejecting the attempt of the Sino-Soviet powers to exploit the political, economic, or social situation of any American State; and declaring that the inter-American system was incompatible with any form of totalitarianism and that democracy would achieve its full scope only as all American Republics lived up to the Santiago Declaration.

After the San José Declaration the Cuban regime, identifying itself as the object of these pronouncements, launched an all-out attack on the inter-American system. The Declaration of Habana condemned the Declaration of San José. The United States twice proposed that factfinding and good-offices procedures created by the OAS be used as an approach to resolving differences; these proposals were ignored by Cuba. Cuba refused to join with the other American Republics in the effort to bring about economic and social advance through

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the continent in the spirit of the Bogotá economic meeting of 1960. It refused to support the recommendations made by the November 1960 Special Meeting of Senior Representatives to strengthen the Inter-American Economic and Social Council.

✓ It has hurled insults on the whole conception of Alianza para el Progreso. It stands today in defiance not only of the Declarations of Santiago and San José and the Treaty of Rio but also of the Charter of the Organization of American States.

No one contends that the Organization of American States is a perfect institution. But it does represent the collective purpose of the American Republics to work together for democracy, economic development, and peace. The OAS has established the machinery to guarantee the safety and integrity of every American Republic, to preserve the principle of nonintervention by any American State in the internal or external affairs of the other American States, and to assure each nation the right to develop its cultural, political, and economic life freely and naturally, respecting the rights of the individual and the principles of universal morality.

The Organization of American States is the expression of the moral and political unity of the Western Hemisphere. In rejecting the OAS, the Castro regime has rejected the hemisphere and has established itself as the outpost in the Americas for forces determined to wreck the inter-American system. Under Castro, Cuba has become the agency to destroy the Bolivarian vision of the Americas as the greatest region in the world, "greatest not so much by virtue of her area and wealth, as by her freedom and glory."

#### V. Conclusion

It is not clear whether Dr. Castro intended from the start to betray his pledges of a free and democratic Cuba, to deliver his country to the Sino-Soviet bloc, and to mount an attack on the inter-American system; or whether he made his original pledges in all sincerity but, on assuming his new responsibilities, found himself increasingly dependent on ruthless men around him with clear ideas and the disciplined organization to carry those ideas into actions. What is important is not the motive but the result.

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The first result has been the institution of a repressive dictatorship in Cuba.

The existence of a regime dedicated to so calculated an attack on human decencies would by itself be a sufficient occasion for intense concern within the hemisphere. In recent years the American family of nations has moved steadily toward the conclusion that the safety and welfare of all the American Republics will be best protected by the establishment and guarantee within each republic of what the OAS Charter calls "the essential rights of man."

But Dr. Casto has done more than establish a dictatorship in Cuba; he has committed that dictatorship to a totalitarian movement outside the hemisphere.

Just as the American Republics over 20 years ago, in conferences beginning at Lima in 1938 and culminating at Rio de Janeiro in 1942, proclaimed that they could not tolerate the invasion of the hemisphere and the seizure of the American States by Nazi movements, serving the interests of the German Reich, so today they reject such invasion and seizure by Communist movements serving the interests of the Sino-Soviet bloc.

The people of Cuba remain our brothers. We acknowledge past omissions and errors in our relationship to them. The United States, along with the other nations of the hemisphere, expresses a profound determination to assure future democratic governments in Cuba full and positive support in their efforts to help the Cuban people achieve freedom, democracy, and social justice.

We call once again on the Castro regime to sever its links with the international Communist movement, to return to the original purposes which brought so many gallant men together in the Sierra Maestra, and to restore the integrity of the Cuban Revolution.

If this call is unheeded, we are confident that the Cuban people, with their passion for liberty, will continue to strive for a free Cuba; that they will return to the splendid vision of inter-American unity and progress; and that in the spirit of José Martí they will join hands with the other republics in the hemisphere in the struggle to win freedom.

Because the Castro regime has become the spearhead of attack on the inter-American system, that regime represents a fateful challenge to the inter-American

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system. For freedom is the common destiny of our hemisphere - freedom from domestic tyranny and foreign intervention, from hunger and poverty and illiteracy, freedom for each person and nation in the Americas to realize the high potentialities of life in the twentieth century.

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**DRAFT FOLLOWS**

White Paper

The present situation in Cuba confronts the western hemisphere and the inter-American system with a grave and urgent challenge.

This challenge does not result from the fact that the Castro government in Cuba was established by revolution. The hemisphere rejoiced at the overthrow of the Batista tyranny, looked with sympathy on the new regime, and welcomed its promises of political freedom and social justice for the Cuban people. The challenge results from the fact that the leaders of the revolutionary regime betrayed their own revolution, delivered that revolution into the hands of powers alien to the hemisphere, and transformed it into an instrument employed with calculated effect to suppress the rekindled hopes of the Cuban people for democracy and to intervene in the internal affairs of other American republics.

What began as a movement to enlarge Cuban democracy and freedom has been perverted, in short, into a mechanism for the destruction of free institutions in Cuba, for the seizure by International Communism of a base and bridgehead in the Americas, and for the disruption of the inter-American system.

DECLASSIFIED

E. O. 11652, SEC. 3(E), 5(D), 5(E) AND 11

Archivist of U.S. (N-L-K-73-30)

BY MFO NARS, DATE 8/23/77

It is the considered judgment of the Government of the United States that the Castro regime in Cuba offers a clear and present danger to the new Alianza para el Progreso, to the whole hope of spreading political liberty, economic development and social progress through all the republics of the hemisphere, and to the genuine and autonomous revolution of the Americas.

#### 1. The Betrayal of the Cuban Revolution

The character of the Batista regime in Cuba made a violent popular reaction almost inevitable. The rapacity of the leadership, the corruption of the government, the brutality of the police, the regime's indifference to the legitimate needs of the people for education, medical care, housing, for social justice and economic opportunity -- all these, in Cuba as elsewhere, constituted an open invitation to revolution.

When word arrived from the Sierra Maestra of the revolutionary movement headed by Dr. Fidel Castro Rus, the people of the hemisphere watched its progress with feeling and with hope. The Cuban Revolution could not, however, have succeeded on the basis of the guerrilla action alone. It succeeded because of the rejection of the regime by thousands of civilians behind the lines -- a rejection which undermined the morale of the superior military forces of Batista and caused them

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to collapse from within. This response of the Cuban people was not just to the cruelty and oppression of the Batista government but to the clear and moving declarations repeatedly made by Dr. Castro concerning his plans and purposes for post-revolutionary Cuba.

As early as 1953, Dr. Castro promised that the first revolutionary law would proclaim the Constitution of 1940 as "the supreme law of the land." In this and subsequent statements, Dr. Castro promised "absolute guarantees of freedom of information, both of newspapers and radio, and of all the individual and political rights guaranteed by the Constitution," and "a provisional government of entirely civilian character that will return the country to normality and hold general elections within a period of no more than one year." Dr. Castro, in short, promised a free and democratic Cuba dedicated to social and economic justice. It was to assure these goals that the Revolutionary Army maintained itself in the hills, that the Cuban people rose against Batista, and that supporters of the revolution formed the 26th of July Movement. It was because of the belief in the honesty of Dr. Castro's purposes that the accession of his regime to power on January 1, 1959, was followed within a single week by

its acceptance in the hemisphere -- a recognition freely accorded by nearly all the American republics, including the United States.

For a moment, the Castro regime seemed determined to make good on at least its social promises. The positive programs initiated in the first months of the Castro regime -- the schools built, the medical clinics established, the new housing, the original projects of land reform, the opening up of beaches and resorts to the people, the elimination of graft in government -- were impressive in their conception, if not in their execution. No future Cuban government can expect to turn its back on such objectives. But so far as the expressed political aims of the revolution were concerned, the record of the Castro regime has been a record of the steady and consistent betrayal of Dr. Castro's pre-revolutionary promises; and the result has been to corrupt the social achievements and make them the means, not of liberation, but of bondage.

The history of the Castro Revolution has been the history of the calculated destruction of the free-spirited Revolutionary Army and its supersession as the main military instrumentality of the regime by the new state militia. It has been the history of the calculated destruction of the 26th of July Movement and its supersession as the

main political instrumentality of the regime by the Communist Party (Partido Socialista Popular). It has been the history of the disillusion, persecution, imprisonment, exile and execution of men and women who supported Dr. Castro -- in many cases fought by his side -- and thereafter deemed themselves by trying to make his regime live up to his own promises.

Thus Dr. Jose Miro Cardona, a distinguished lawyer of Havana, led the Civic Resistance Movement against Batista. Dr. Castro made him the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government. As the regime embarked on its Communist course, Dr. Cardona went into exile. Today he is chairman of the Revolutionary Council of Cuba in Exile (check exact title), representing anti-Batista Cubans determined to rescue the Revolution.

Dr. Manuel Urrutia y Lleo, an eminent Cuban judge, had asserted in defiance of Batista and in defense of Castro the right of Cubans to resort to arms to overthrow an unconstitutional government. He became a hero of the Revolution and served as Provisional President of the Revolutionary Government. When he protested the spread of Communist influence, he was compelled to resign. Today Dr. Urrutia is under house arrest in Havana.

Not only the first Prime Minister and the first President but the majority of Dr. Castro's first cabinet now condemn his betrayal of the Revolution. Manuel Ray Rivero, who organized the anti-Batista underground in Havana and served as Castro's Minister of Public Works, went into exile and is today a member of the Revolutionary Council. Humberto Fori Marin, who as Castro's first Minister of Agriculture called for agrarian reform in the spirit of the 1940 Constitution, returned to Cuba this year to continue his fight for Cuban freedom; he was recently reported shot and captured by the forces of Castro. Of the 19 members of the original cabinet of the revolutionary government, over half today are in prison, in exile or in opposition.

Many who fought with Dr. Castro in the hills have left him. Major Huber Matos Benitez, revolutionary comandante of Camaguey Province, had been a hero of the Sierra Maestra. Major Matos protested against the spread of Communist influence. As a result of this and of his request for permission to resign from the Army, Dr. Castro had him tried for charges of conspiracy, sedition and treason; he was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment. And there are many, many others: Manuel Arturo and Hugo Diaz who

fought valiantly in the Sierra Maestra; Justo Carvillo, a leader of the Montecristi opposition in Havana and President of the National Development Bank under Castro; Raul Chibas, who raised much of the funds for the revolution and fought with Castro in the hills; Felipe Paez, also in the Sierra Maestra and appointed by Castro as President of the National Bank of Cuba; Major Pedro Diaz Leon, chief of the Cuban Air Force and Castro's personal pilot; Ricardo Lorio Vale, chief of arms supply for the Revolutionary Army; Evelio Duques and Cavaldo Ramirez, fighters in the Sierra Maestra and once again fighting tyranny in the Sierra Escambray.

David Salvador, the labor leader, went to jail under Batista because of his work for Castro. After the revolution he became secretary-general of the Cuban trade union federation, in which role he was militantly pro-Castro and anti-America. In November 1959, the 26th of July Movement swept the national congress of the trade unions, defeated the Communist slate and confirmed David Salvador as secretary-general. But Dr. Castro, appearing in person at the congress, demanded acceptance of the Communist program of "unity". Salvador continued his fight for a free labor movement. A year later he was arrested as he tried to escape from Cuba with his family. Today David Salvador is back again in a Cuban jail --

this time Castro's rather than Batista's.

Editors and commentators have found life in Castro's Cuba intolerable. When Miguel Angel Guevedo, who as editor of Bohemia had been a brave and influential foe of Batista, could stand the new despotism no longer and left Cuba in July 1960, even Dr. Castro described it as "a mortal blow"; today Bohemia Libre is published in New York (check). Luis Conte Aguirre, the radio and television commentator, had written the preface to Dr. Castro's revolutionary exhortation History Will Absolve Me. When Conte criticized Communist influence on the regime, Castro turned on him, angry crowds mobbed him, and he was forced to seek refuge in the Argentine Embassy. Today he is in exile. Even Jose Pardo Llada, notorious for his lurid daily attacks on the United States over the Havana radio, recently fled to Mexico City; he declared, "I broke with Fidel Castro on coming to the conclusion that in Cuba today it is not possible to maintain an attitude that does not correspond to the Communist line. . . . Any expression of independence, even of defense of the social program of the Revolution, is considered a deviationist, divisionist or counter-revolutionist attitude."

Never in history has any revolution so rapidly devoured its children. The roster of Castro's victims is the litany of the Cuban

Revolution. The Revolutionary Army and the 26th of July Movement expressed the profound and passionate desire of the Cuban people for democracy and freedom, a desire sanctified in the comradeship and sacrifice of the revolutionary struggle. When Dr. Castro decided to betray the promises of the revolution, he had to liquidate the instrumentalities which embodied those promises and to destroy the men who took the promises seriously.

## II. The Establishment of the Communist Bridgehead

In place of the democratic spontaneity of the Cuban Revolution, Dr. Castro placed his confidence in the ruthless discipline of the Cuban Communist Party. Today that party is the only political party permitted to operate in Cuba. Today its members and those responsive to its influence dominate the government of Cuba, the commissions of economic planning, the labor front, the press, the educational system and all the agencies of national power.

The Cuban Communist Party has had a long and intricate history. For many years, it collaborated with the Batista government. Batista not only granted the Communists the freedom to carry on their organizing activity; but in 1943 he appointed to his cabinet the first avowed Communist ever to serve in any cabinet of any American republic.

When Dr. Castro first went to the hills, the leadership of the Cuban Communist Party, though by now anti-Fatista, dismissed him as "bourgeois" and "putchist"; and Communist sabotage contributed to the failure of Dr. Castro's attempted general strike of April 1958. Later the 26th of July Movement resisted demands for public recognition of the Communist Party as part of the anti-Fatista coalition. But the Communists, perceiving that the people were falling behind Castro, began in late 1958 to infiltrate the guerilla forces as individuals.

Their initial opposition to the Castro movement was quickly forgiven. Dr. Castro's brother, Major Raul Castro, had himself been active in the International Communist student movement and had made his pilgrimage to the Communist world. Moreover, Major Ernesto (Che) Guevara, a dominating influence on Dr. Castro, was a revolutionary Marxist from Argentina who had worked with Communists in Guatemala and Mexico. Through Raul Castro and Guevara, the Communists, though unable to gain control either of the 26th of July Movement or of the Revolutionary Army, won ready access to Dr. Castro himself.

What was perhaps even more important, the Communist Party could promise Castro not only a clearcut program but a tough organization to put that program into execution.

The period since has seen a steady expansion of Communist power within the regime. Dr. Cevaldo Pórticos Torrado, the present President of Cuba, was regional organization secretary of the Communist Party in Cienfuegos as a law student and has never publicly explained or repudiated his past party membership. Aníbal Escalante, secretary general of the Cuban Communist Party, is a member of the informal group which, under the chairmanship of Raúl Castro, makes policy for the Cuban Government. Raúl Castro himself controls the Ministry for the Revolutionary Armed Forces; and his friend, Major Ramiro Valdés Menéndez, who accompanied him on a tour of the Soviet bloc in 1960, is chief of military intelligence. Major Guevara is Minister of Industry and chief economic planner. The National Agrarian Reform Institute (INRA), with its vast power over the rural life of Cuba, is headed by Major Antonio Núñez Jiménez, a registered member of the Cuban Communist Party in Santa Clara and another frequent pilgrim behind the Iron Curtain. The Bank for Foreign Commerce, which controls all exports and imports, has as its director Jacinto Torres, an oldtime Communist who served for many years as

economic editor of the Communist daily newspaper Noticias de Hoy. All centers of economic power have been taken over by the state and to a considerable degree delivered to the Cuban Communist Party.

This process of consolidation applies throughout Cuban national life. In recent months, the regime, by completing its purge of the judiciary, has perfected its control over all organized institutions of political power. Justice has become the instrument of tyranny. Laws have been redefined in such a way that any manifestation of disagreement can be branded as "counterrevolutionary" and the accused haled before military tribunals and sentenced to long prison terms or to the firing squad. The remaining vestiges of opposition in organized labor, represented by union leaders from the 26th of July Movement, have been destroyed. Professional groups and civic institutions have lost their autonomy and are systematically integrated into the "revolutionary" discipline of the regime.

In characteristic Communist manner, the regime has seized control of the nation's educational system, introduced Communist propaganda into the schools, destroyed academic freedom and ended the traditional autonomy of the universities. The director of primary education in the Ministry of Education is Dulce Maria Escalona Almeida,

a Communist. Secondary education is in the hands of Pedro Canas Abril, long associated with pre-Communist groups. The director of the Department of Culture in the Ministry of Education is a veteran Communist, Vicentino Antuna. Well-known Communists served on the committee named by the Ministry of Education to rewrite the textbooks for the public school system. Fermín Fernández, a former professor at the University of the Oriente, recently published the text of a statement issued last December by faculty members and students of that University:

In the realm of domestic politics we condemn Fidel Castro as a traitor to the Revolution that this University helped to organize and to win. . . . The objectives of complete freedom, human rights and constitutional order, crystallized in the 26th of July Movement, have been crushed by the Castro regime in open treason to the memory of our martyrs Frank País, Pepito Tey, Eduardo Mesa and many others. . . . In the realm of university life we declare Fidel Castro a traitor to the autonomy of the university, defended to the death by a legion of student martyrs, from Trejo to Ramírez and José A. Ilachavarria. . . . We denounce the systematic subordination of the aims of scientific investigation within the universities to the aim of consolidating and maintaining in power the totalitarian tyranny of Castro.

In similar fashion the Castro regime has seized control of the agencies of public communication -- the newspapers, the publishing houses, the radio and television networks, the film industry. Free

discussion and comment have been extinguished in Castro's Cuba, even to a greater extent than in the Cuba of Batista. No Cuban today can hope to escape the monotonous and implacable din of Communist propaganda.

The Cuba of Castro, in short, offers the western hemisphere a new experience -- the experience of a modern totalitarian state. The Castro regime is far more drastic and comprehensive in its control than even the most ruthless of the old-time military dictatorships which have too long disfigured the hemisphere. Castro's power touches the daily lives of the people of Cuba at every point, governs their access to jobs, houses, farms, schools, all the necessities of life, and subjects opposition to quick and sharp reprisal. On January 27 last, Major Nunes, the head of INRA, said that the Cuban Government might have to replace the intended slogan for 1961 "Year of Education" with "Año del Fajodon", which means "Year of the Execution Wall" or "Year of the Firing Squad". Indications are that the regime means to make good on Major Nunes's new slogan. Among those recently executed were three members of the Electrical Workers Union; the hand of the dictatorship is reaching out beyond the middle class to include Martires Chinos. When the electrical

workers marched last December from union headquarters to the Presidential Palace to protest against reductions in their standard of living. Dr. Castro himself appeared and exhorted them. Subsequent protest demonstrations undertaken by workers' wives were forcibly broken up by the Militia.

By every criterion, it is evident that the permeation and penetration of political and intellectual life by Communist influences and personalities have reached the point of virtual domination. The North American journalist, L. F. Stone, initially sympathetic with the Castro regime, reported after a recent trip to Cuba: "For the first time, in talking with the Fidelista intellectuals, I felt that Cuba was on its way to becoming a Soviet-style Popular Democracy." Even Dr. Juan Jose Arevalo, who had collaborated with Communists as President of Guatemala and who had visited and praised Cuba in 1959, has warned the Cubans, in terms of his fable "The Shark and the Sardines", "The shark is the Soviet Union, and the sardines are Hungary, (East) Germany, Czechoslovakia. . . and every country which surrenders to Communist doctrine."

It is for this reason that some of the most devoted and authentic fighters for social and economic democracy in Latin America -- men

who themselves spent years in prison or in exile and who had hailed the Castro uprising for its promises of deliverance for the Cuban people -- have united in rejecting the Communist conquest of Cuba. Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre of Peru may stand as a symbol of this whole tradition of the democratic left. "The history of Latin America," Haya de la Torre recently said, "has been an unfortunate series of sell-outs. . . . acts of treason committed, until now, only by the political right. Today it is the left that has sold out. The ideals which led the Cuban people to revolution must not be confused with what has ensued: capitulation, submission and homage to an anti-American totalitarian power, opposed to all our traditional ideals of bread and freedom."

Meeting in Lima at the end of February, 1961, representatives of APRA, Acción Democrática of Venezuela, the Partido Conservador Revolucionario of Nicaragua and the Partido Democrático Popular of Puerto Rico summed up the situation when they declared of Cuba that its "revolutionary process, justified in the beginning, has been deflected by its present agents, converting a brother country into an instrument of the cold war, separating it, with suicidal premeditation, from the community of interests of the Latin American people."

III. The Delivery of the Revolution to the  
Sino-Soviet Bloc

The official declarations of the Cuban Government amply document the Lima resolution and make clear the subservience of the Castro regime to the world Communist bloc. The joint communiqué issued in Moscow on December 19, 1960, by Anastas Mikoyan, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and Major Guvarra, as chief of the Economic Mission of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, outline the terms of surrender. After announcing a series of trade, technical assistance and cultural agreements, the communiqué noted, "During the talks, the two parties discussed problems relating to the present international situation, and they reaffirmed their agreement in attitude toward the principal problems of mankind today." The Cubans agreed that the Soviet Union is "the most powerful nation on earth" and that every Soviet proposal and policy represented a magnificent contribution to world peace. In return for a total acceptance of Soviet positions and claims, Cuba received pledges of economic assistance and of "the Soviet Union's willingness to lend Cuba full assistance in maintaining its independence against unprovoked aggression."

Officials of the Castro government have repeatedly accepted the implications of this Soviet-Cuban demarche. Major Guevara himself, endorsing the conclusions of the Moscow Congress of world Communist parties, said, "Cuba wants to tread the way of the Soviet Union" and praised the "militant solidarity of the Cuban and Soviet people." In the presence of Dr. Castro, Faure Chauret, the Cuban Ambassador to Moscow, told an audience on March 13, 1961, "The Cuban Revolution is loyal to Communism. We and the Communists go hand-in-hand. The students of tomorrow will tell how the Cuban people became Communist, and we shall see how all Latin American peoples will become Communist."

On one issue after another, the Castro regime has signified its unquestioning acceptance of the Soviet line on international affairs. After the termination of relations with the United States, the Cuban Government turned over its diplomatic and consular representation to the Embassy of Czechoslovakia in Washington. In the United Nations, Cuba has voted with the Communist bloc on all major issues during the past few months. In the case of Congo, the Cuban press compared Lumumba's defiance of the United Nations to Cuba's defiance of the Organization of American States. In September

Major Guevara, commenting on the expulsion of Communist diplomatic and technical delegations, said, "We may have suffered a reverse in the Congo but that is only temporary."

Though in 1956 Raul Roa, the Cuban Foreign Minister, attacked "the crimes, disasters and outrages perpetrated" by the Soviet "invaders" in Hungary, the Hungarian revolution, as well as the rebellion in Tibet, are now "reactionary fascist movements". In October 1960, Manuel Yope, chief of protocol for the Foreign Ministry, gave an orientation lecture on the subject "Imperialist Aggression and the Case of Hungary".

The last few months have seen the rapid consolidation of this relationship in all its aspects -- not only ideological, but military, political, economic and cultural. Sino-Soviet arms, equipment, technicians and money have moved into Cuba. Diplomatic relations have been established with every Communist country except East Germany; and economic agreements have been concluded with many Communist countries including East Germany. Cuban leaders have visited the Soviet Union and Communist China as honored guests, and a long list of leaders from the Soviet Union, China and the Communist satellite states have visited Cuba.

It is important to understand the detail and the magnitude of this process of take-over. In the military field, more than 30,000 tons of arms with an estimated value of \$50,000,000 have poured from beyond the Iron Curtain into Cuba in an ever-rising flood since the middle of 1960. The eight-hour military parade through Havana and the military maneuvers in January 1961 displayed Soviet IS-2 51-ton tanks, Soviet SU-100 assault guns, Soviet T-34 35-ton tanks, Soviet 76 mm. field guns, Soviet 85 mm. field guns, Soviet 122 mm. field guns. Except for motorized equipment, the Cuban armed forces have been re-equipped by the Soviet bloc and are now dependent on the bloc for the maintenance of their armed power. Soviet and Czech military advisers and technicians have accompanied the flow of arms. And the Castro regime has sent Cubans to Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union for training as jet pilots, ground maintenance crews and artillersymen.

As a consequence of Soviet military aid, Cuba has today, except for the United States, the largest ground forces in the hemisphere -- at least ten times as large as the military forces maintained by previous Cuban governments, including that of Batista. Estimates of the size of the Cuban military establishment range from 250,000

to 400,000. On the basis of the lower figure, one out of every thirty Cubans is today in the armed forces as against one out of fifty in the Soviet Union and one out of sixty in the United States.

Soviet domination of economic relations has proceeded with similar speed and comprehensiveness. A series of trade and financial agreements have integrated the Cuban economy with that of the Communist world. The extent of Cuban economic dependence on the Communist world is shown by the fact that approximately 75 percent of its trade is now tied up in barter arrangements with Ica Carta countries. The artificiality of this development is suggested by the fact that at the beginning of 1960 only two percent of Cuba's total foreign trade was with the Communist bloc. The Soviet Union, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland have permanent technical assistance missions to Cuba; and a Communist Chinese delegation will soon arrive in pursuance of the Cuban-Chinese agreement of December 1960. According to Major Guevara, 2700 Cubans will be receiving technical training in bloc countries in 1961.

The same process is visible in the field of cultural relations. What is involved is not just the visit of concert artists, dance groups or athletic teams but the Communist conquest of all phases of

cultural activity. This is to be seen in the comprehensive cultural agreements with bloc countries, in the reconstruction of the Cuban educational system to serve Communist purposes, in the impediments placed on students wishing to study anywhere except beyond the Iron Curtain, in the ban on books and magazines from the free states, in the affiliation of Prensa Latina, the official Cuban press agency, with TASS. It has meant a deliberate severing of traditional cultural ties with countries of the hemisphere and of western Europe. It has meant a massive attempt to impose an alien cultural pattern on the Cuban people.

In every area, the action of the Castro regime is steadily and purposefully directed toward a single goal -- the transformation of Cuba into a Soviet satellite state.

#### IV. The Assault on the Hemisphere

The transformation of Cuba into a Soviet satellite is, from the viewpoint of the Cuban leaders, not an end but a beginning. Dr. Castro's fondest dream is a continent-wide upheaval which would reconstruct all Latin America on the model of Cuba. "We promise", he said on July 26, 1960, "to continue making the nation the example that can convert the Cordillera of the Andes into the Sierra Maestra

of the hemisphere." "If they want to accuse us of wanting a revolution in all America," he added later, "let them accuse us."

Under Castro Cuba has already become a base and staging-area for revolutionary activity throughout the continent. In prosecuting the war against the hemisphere, Cuban embassies in Latin American countries work in close collaboration with Iron Curtain diplomatic missions and with the Soviet intelligence services. In addition, Cuban expressions of fealty to the Communist world have provided the Soviet government a long-sought pretext for threats of direct interventions of its own in the western hemisphere. "We shall do everything to support Cuba in her struggle," Prime Minister Khrushchev said on July 9, 1960, ". . . Speaking figuratively, in case of necessity, Soviet artillerymen can support with rocket fire the Cuban people if aggressive forces in the Pentagon dare to start intervention against Cuba."

As Dr. Castro's alliance with International Communism has grown closer, his determination to export revolution to other American republics -- a determination now affirmed, now denied -- has become more fervent. The Declaration of Havana of September 2, 1960 -- Dr. Castro's response to the Declaration of San José as adopted by

the Organization of American States -- openly proclaimed the decision of the Cuban Revolutionary Government to fight for a "free Latin America" and "a common American destiny." This manifesto asserted the right of nations "to arm their workers, farmers, students, intellectuals, Negroes, Indians, women, the young, the aged, all those oppressed and exploited, so that they themselves may defend their rights and destinies."

Cuban intervention has sought in such terms to exploit the legitimate aspirations of all Latin Americans for freedom and justice. Certainly wherever repressive and reactionary governments flourish, there soil exists for Fidelismo to cultivate. But Dr. Castro's actual policy of intervention in the other American republics has been consistently and cynically opportunistic. It has sprung from an interest not in rights but in power -- not from a desire to benefit the people of other countries but from a determination to extend the control of Fidelismo. Indeed, Dr. Castro has plainly reached the conclusion that his main enemy in Latin America is not dictatorship but democracy -- that he must, above all, strive to discredit and destroy governments seeking peaceful solutions to social and economic problems. Thus in recent months the Cuban Government has

abandoned its aggressive campaign against the brutal Trujillo dictatorship in the Dominican Republic and has accelerated its attacks on the progressive democratic government of Romulo Betancourt in Venezuela.

Cuban interventionism has taken a variety of forms. During 1959 the Castro government aided or supported armed invasions of Panama, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic and Haiti. These projects all failed and all invited action by the Organization of American States. In consequence, after 1959 the Castro regime began increasingly to resort to indirect methods. The present strategy of Fidelismo is to provoke revolutionary situations in other republics through the indoctrination of selected individuals from other countries, through assistance to revolutionary exiles, and through the political and propaganda operations of Cuban embassies. Cuban diplomats have encouraged local opposition groups, harangued political rallies, distributed inflammatory propaganda and indulged in a multitude of political assignments not usual on the diplomatic circuit. A raid on the Cuban Embassy in Lima in November, 1960, uncovered a large number of official papers displaying the variety of clandestine Fidelista activities within

Peru. Documents made public by the government of El Salvador on March 12, 1961, appear to establish that large sums of money have been coming into El Salvador through the Cuban Embassy for the purpose of financing pro-Communist student groups plotting the overthrow of the government. When the government of Honduras recently closed the Cuban Consulate at Puerto Cortes, it found quantities of propaganda literature intended for distribution within Honduras.

Most instances of serious civil disturbance in Latin America in recent months exhibit Cuban influence, if not direct intervention. At the time of the November uprising in Venezuela, the rioters against the Venezuelan Government emphasized their pro-Castro sentiment. During the disorders, the government announced the discovery of high-powered transmitting and receiving sets in the possession of Cubans in Caracas. In the following weeks, about 50 Cubans were expelled from the country. Similar patterns appear to have prevailed in troubles in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama, Colombia, Bolivia and Paraguay.

To such covert activities have been joined open and direct attacks on the duly elected leaders of the American states. Thus

the Cuban Foreign Minister has called President Prudente of Argentina "the viscous concretion of all the human excrescences." Government broadcasts have denounced President Lopez Mateos as "the betrayer of the Mexican Revolution," President Alessandri as "the corrupter of the faith of the Chilean people," President Lleras of Colombia as "the intimate friend of exploiting imperialism," President Betancourt of Venezuela as the "revolutionary of merecurio-banana bandits," and so on.

In consequence of Dr. Castro's campaign against the hemisphere, seven American states no longer have diplomatic relations with Cuba. Of the states which retain formal relations, several have found it necessary to ask that Cuban Ambassadors and other official representatives be withdrawn because of their flagrant interferences into domestic affairs. A number of governments have withdrawn their own ambassadors from Havana.

The nations of the hemisphere, including the United States, have made repeated attempts to dissuade Cuba from thus turning its back on its brother republics. Though the Cuban Government has tried to portray the United States as the sworn and unrelenting enemy of the Cuban Revolution, Dr. Castro was in fact cordially received when

he visited the United States in the spring of 1959. American officials made clear to him the willingness of the United States Government to assist in making his regime a success in accordance with its announced objectives (check). For many months thereafter, the United States sought direct consultations with the Castro government. The United States took the initiative in suggesting negotiations as early as the summer of 1959. That offer and many others made subsequently were not accepted. For a long time the United States Ambassador in Havana was unable even to obtain an audience with Dr. Castro. A Cuban proposal advanced early in 1960 set rigid conditions for negotiation. The United States indicated its readiness to negotiate if the conditions were dropped. The Cuban Government declined to do this.

Dr. Castro had already made clear his contempt for the Organization of American States and for the entire Inter-American system. Early in his regime he declared, "I have no faith in the OAS, . . . it decides nothing, the whole thing is a lie." Though Cuba signed the Santiago Declaration of August 1959, with its enunciation of free elections, human rights, due process, freedom of information and expression, and hemisphere economic collaboration, it has systematic-

ically disregarded and violated each item in the Declaration. In March 1960, Castro publicly stated that the Cuban Government did not regard itself as obligated by the Rio Treaty, the keystone of hemispheric cooperation for defense, because "the revolution" did not sign the document.

In August 1968 the Foreign Ministers of the hemisphere, meeting at San Jose, Costa Rica, adopted a declaration condemning the threat of extra-continental intervention in the affairs of the hemisphere and condemning also the acceptance of any such threat by an American republic; rejecting the attempt of the Sino-Soviet powers to exploit the political, economic or social situation of any American state; and declaring that the Inter-American system was incompatible with any form of totalitarianism and that democracy would achieve its full scope only as all American republics lived up to the Santiago Declaration.

After the San Jose Declaration, the Cuban regime, identifying itself as the object of these pronouncements, launched an all-out attack on the Inter-American system. The Declaration of Havana condemned the Declaration of San Jose. The United States twice proposed that fact-finding and good-offices procedures created by

the OAS be used as an approach to resolving differences; these proposals were ignored by Cuba. Cuba refused to join with the other American republics in the effort to bring about economic and social advance through the continent in the spirit of the Bogota conference. It refused to support the recommendations made by the November 1960 Special Meeting of Senior Representatives to strengthen the Inter-American Economic and Social Council. It has hurled insults on the whole conception of Alliance para el Progreso. It stands today in defiance not only of the Declarations of Santiago and San Jose and the Treaty of Rio but also of the Charter of the Organization of American States.

No one contends that the Organization of American States is a perfect institution. But it does represent the collective purpose of the American republics to work together for democracy, economic development and peace. The OAS has established the machinery to resolve disagreements among its membership, to guarantee the safety and integrity of every American republic, to preserve the principle of nonintervention by any American state in the internal or external affairs of the other American states, and to assure each nation the right to develop its cultural, political and economic life freely and

naturally, respecting the rights of the individual and the principles of universal morality.

The Organisation of American States is the expression of the moral and political unity of the western hemisphere. In rejecting the OAS, the Castro regime has rejected the hemisphere and has established itself as the outpost in the Americas for forces determined to wreck the Inter-American system. Under Castro, Cuba has become the agency to destroy the Bolivarian vision of the Americas as the greatest region in the world, "greatest not so much by virtue of her area and wealth, as by her freedom and glory."

#### V. Conclusion

It is not clear whether Dr. Castro intended from the start to betray his pledges of a free and democratic Cuba, to deliver his country to the Sino-Soviet bloc and to mount an attack on the Inter-American system; or whether he made his original pledges in all sincerity but, on assuming his new responsibilities, found himself increasingly dependent on ruthless men around him with clear ideas and the disciplined organization to carry those ideas into action. What is important is not the motive but the result.

The first result has been the institution of a repressive dictatorship in Cuba.

The existence of a regime dedicated to so calculated an attack on human decenties would by itself be a sufficient occasion for intense concern within the hemisphere. In recent years the American family of nations has moved steadily toward the conclusion that the safety and welfare of all the American republics will be best protected by the establishment and guarantee within each republic of what the OAS Charter calls "the essential rights of man."

But Dr. Castro has done more than establish a dictatorship in Cuba; he has committed that dictatorship to a totalitarian movement outside the hemisphere. Just as the American republics twenty years ago decided in solemn conferences at Lima, Panama and Rio de Janeiro (check) that they could not tolerate the invasion of the hemisphere and the seizure of American states by Nazi movements serving the interests of the German Reich, so today they cannot tolerate such invasion and seizure by Communist movements serving the interests of the Sino-Soviet bloc.

The people of Cuba remain our brothers. We acknowledge our own past omissions and errors in our relationship to them. The

United States, along with the other nations of the hemisphere, will assure future democratic governments in Cuba full support in their efforts to help the Cuban people achieve freedom, democracy and social justice.

We call once again on the Castro regime to sever its links with the international Communist movement, to return to the original purposes which brought so many gallant men together in the Sierra Maestra and to restore the integrity of the Cuban Revolution.

If this call is unheeded, we are confident that Cuban patriots will arise against this new tyranny, as they have against other tyrannies in their glorious history; that they will return to the splendid vision of Inter-American unity and progress; and that, in the spirit of Jose Marti and of the new Alianza para el Progreso, they will join hands with the other republics in the hemisphere in the struggle to win freedom, education and abundance for every person in the Americas.